[591] 423 613 people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *kauve* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the sections. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 423 244 428 616 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *uwa*, control small sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control. These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

Individual Property

421 556 The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and talo beds. A woman owns mats, prepared pandanus, ornaments, trees, and talo beds. Small canoes, one-piece dugouts or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed *ika ye* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of *ika ye* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

422 226

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than today. A tapu (*lani*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes, especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

Individual named talo beds (*ui tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest. They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

of the lagoon or on sandy bottoms close to the beach. The following fish are commonly speared: *pala, ali, patalatele, alua* (a deep-water fish speared outside the lagoon), *tupaupau, taetaeuma;* the eels; the trigger family, deep-sea members of which are sometimes found inside the lagoon; *wiliwili, yeyalo, palu uli, piopio, matarie, lali,* and *fafa.* The various rays are speared with a *tao,* to the base of which a sennit cord is tied so that the spear will not be lost.

3. Torch fishing. Torches (*lama*) are made late in the afternoon preceding the fishing. Two dry coconut midribs are used for the reef fishing torch (*lamalama akau*), three midribs for the *malau* fishing torch (*lama malau*). To make the reef fishing torch the broad butt is cut from each midrib. The first midrib is laid on the ground, dull side (*tua,* back) down, the smooth side (*mulivahevale*) facing upward. The second midrib is placed on top of the first, the dull side of the second leaf next to the smooth side of the first. Starting from the butt end, the worker gathers together with both hands the leaflets for a length of about 18 inches. Holding these with the left hand, he takes with the right hand two leaflets from the underneath leaf and twists these several times around the gathered leaflets of both leaves. Then he picks up with the left hand two leaflets from the top leaf and twists the first two leaflets three or four times around the second two leaflets and buries the twisted leaflets under the general gathering of leaflets. He gathers up all the leaflets for a second fastening about 18 inches from the first, and proceeds thus until he has made a compact bundle. When fired, the torch burns down to the fastening and then smoulders. The buried leaflets are then loosened by a shake or by a flick of the hand and flame up again. To dim a torch by lowering the head and then make it flame again by raising the head is termed *unkapulapula.*

Of the two fishers, the assistant holds the torch and carries the spare ones so that the fisherman is free to catch the fish. The light of the torch shows the sleeping fish or attracts them to the surface, where they are speared or clubbed to death. The partners progress along the reef shelf, probing with the torch on the inside of the reef. The fish caught are strung together on a coconut fiber or placed in a basket. Fish caught by reef torch fishing are: *kalowa, ie, mauna, mauliki, mayi, kanae, uloulo, kotimu,* parrot fishes, and all the reef fish caught by reef groping.

Torching is also used in catching flying fish and *malau* (p. 58) and for canoe fishing outside the reef (*yi unkapulapula*). The canoe is either stationary or allowed to drift slowly down the reef. A torch is held by one member of the canoe crew to attract to the canoe such fish as night-feeding cangaroids, barracuda, dog fish, and tuna. The bait and hook used depend on the type of fish to be caught.

WEIRS AND SWEEPS

The walled stone fishweir (p. 159), used for catching reef fish in the shallow waters of the lagoon, is called *fa uaia iho* or *tauvaga;* the method of using it, *tali tauvaga:*

The weirs are placed in the reef shallows at places where the water at ebb tide is not more than 1 foot deep. The fish come inshore from the reef at high tide. At the ebbing of the tide, when they are carried out again, the exit of the weir is blocked with a scoop net (*tao yaoka*) or with a cone-shaped fishing basket (*olo uuli au*) weighted down with a stone. The fisherman watches the course of the weir and has his net or basket ready when the fish enter. His partner beats the water behind the fish and drives them to the exit. The mouth of the basket is closed as soon as the fish enter and then the basket is raised from the water. The fish are lifted out, transferred to another fishing basket, and the basket reset for more fish.

Stone weirs are the property of the village on whose stretch of lagoon shallows they are built. All men of the owning village use the weirs freely at any time. Fish

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Three methods are employed to catch *kavea*:

The first method is *lamalama kavea*. A lighted torch is thrust into the crab hole. The torch smoulders and the smoke forces the crab from its second hole, when it is promptly caught. In the second method (*yokayoka kavea*) a pointed stick is thrust into the ground or into holes to locate the crab. The hand is then put down into the hole to draw out the crab. The third method is *makapoa kavea*. Coconut gratings are toasted over a fire until they become highly odorous and are then placed in the bush to attract the crabs. A few hours later a man visits the place and picks up the congregated crabs.

Crab hunting and killing is *uuli tupua*. The crab is picked up by the shell and, with a quick twist, the head is bent back from the mandibles and broken off. It is prepared for eating by roasting.

Bird Catching

Of old, birds were caught principally for food, though the feathers were used secondarily as decorations for the hair and for the malo made of sennit. Today feathers are used as flies in fishing.

Birds are part of the reserve land foods and are tapu for most of the time. A decision to lift the tapu is announced to the people by the guards. The young men communally gather the birds which are divided among the people of the village. Small land birds are occasionally caught privately.

All birds are considered a great delicacy, but the young *lakia* bird is preferred. The owner of a new canoe might formerly obtain permission from the village to visit the reserves to procure quantities of *lakia* for the feast which marked the conclusion of the work on the canoe. The birds were shared among the people of the village and the canoe afterward referred to as *vaka kai lakia*.

Birds were never kept as pets or decoys. When caught as a fledgling, a bird was placed alive in a cone-shaped coconut-leaf basket (fig.16)[1] and transported back from the reserve therein. The basket with the bird was suspended from a tree near the cook house. The bird was fed with coconut flesh; a new basket was made when the bird grew bigger. When the bird matured, it was killed and eaten. Today a bird is occasionally kept in a small four-sided wooden box hung on a tree near the house. Its wings are broken to prevent escape. It is fed by the children and killed when mature. One man in Yato keeps two semi-wild *noa* birds tied by the leg to a log near his house. When they escaped one day and walked through the village, everyone ran before them with shouts of "Kai tangata!" (Manester). It was some time before the birds were recaptured and the village settled down again to normal routine.

1. Netting. The method of catching birds by use of the bird net (*uuata*) is termed *makayi manu* (to encircle the bird with a net). (For technical details of the construction of the net, see p. 209).

1. [See p.140, category 11b -- analyst.]